2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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be taken to hint that the dead do not merely become ghosts. The spirit or rather soul of the dead person might then be looked upon as capable of doing good, while the ghost arising from his body is something to be dreaded. But this again is pure conjecture, justified only by the absence of adequate data. As already indicated, the Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead stand in need of much fuller investigation.

Hähn gives no further information about the nature, occasions, and extent of the worship of the dead. It will be noticed, however, from the conversation recorded by him, that the prayers have to be offered at the graves of the dead. This fact can be linked up with other usages of the Hottentots. Olpp states that when a man passes the grave of an "ancestor", he will place one hand on the nape of his neck, throw a stone or twig on the mound, and offer a prayer for health, many children, and much stock.[1] We have already come across the placing of stones or twigs on the grave as part of the actual burial ceremony; but it has been observed by many writers, from Müller in 1655 right up to the present, that this act is also performed by Hottentots whenever they happen to be passing one of the stone heaps marking a grave.[2] Olpp, as just shown, says that it is accompanied by prayer. This is not mentioned by some other writers. To take an early account first, Thunberg, who travelled in the eastern districts of the Cape towards the end of the eighteenth century, writes as follows: "By the side of the road I observed a stone heap covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there."[3] And Biden and Kling, writing in 1912, state that: "A peculiarity of the Hottentots in doing homage to their dead is what they call 'heidje eibib'. In the event of a grave being close to a road where the Hottentots continually pass to and fro, the wayfarers throw a stone on the mound when passing by. This is a sign of honour to the deceased, and this duty is strictly observed where there are graves of ancestors of the Hottentots. There is a large 'heidje eibib' at Stygerkraal, near O'okiep [Little Namaqualand]; the Hottentots say that this grave is that of one of their great-grandfathers who originally came from another country."[4]

[1] Op. cit., 29.
[2] Müller, in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I, 19; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 371; Hähn, op. cit., 46–8 (quoting Sparrman and Lichtenstein).
[3] Quoted by Hähn, op. cit., 45. [4] Op. cit., 225.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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This practice obviously cannot be regarded simply as the addition of another stone or branch to the mound intended to protect the corpse or skeleton from wild animals. At first sight it may appear to be a protective rite against the ghost hovering over the grave; but the praying mentioned by Olpp, as well as the statement made by Hahn's informant, that people sometimes go to pray at the graves of their ancestors, argue against this view. There is, moreover, the fact, recorded by Biden and Kling, that the name "heidje eibib", or more correctly *Heitsi Eibib*, is associated with this practice. This is also mentioned by Alexander.[1] "These Namaquas," he says, "thought that they came from the East. In the country [Great Namaqualand] there is occasionally found (besides the common graves covered with a heap of stones) large heaps of stones, on which had been thrown a few branches; and if the Namaquas are asked what these are, they say that Heije Eibib—their great father—is below the heap; they do not know what he is like, or what he does; they only imagine that he also came from the East, and had plenty of sheep and goats; and when they add a stone or a branch to the heap, they mutter, 'Give us plenty of cattle.'"

Now *Heitsi Eibib* is one of the most prominent figures in the religion and mythology of the Hottentots. This practice, therefore, is linked up with another aspect of Hottentot religion, the cult of hero deities, to which we shall turn shortly. One other point must also be noticed, to which we shall have to return. This is the distinction made by Alexander between ordinary graves and the large mounds specially connected with *Heitsi Eibib*.

Worship of the Moon

All the Hottentot tribes have for a considerable time been more or less under the influence of missionaries. As a result their traditional religion has fallen largely, if not completely, into decay, and the great majority of the people in fact now claim to be Christians. The reports available about their religious beliefs and practices at the time when they first came in contact with Europeans are very inadequate; but even the later writers, although adding considerably to our knowledge, have, with the exception of Hahn, made little attempt to inquire more systematically into the subject. It is perhaps hardly possible, therefore, to arrive at anything like a full conception of the original religious cult of the Hottentots.

[1] *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i, 166.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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ordinary duties of !Gèi Aop was to discover the source of the sickness. If, however, it was thought that he himself was causing sickness, the community had a sure way of protecting itself from him. For, cold water was absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touched it on any account. Should it be decided that the !Gèi aop has caused sickness or death among the people, the chief will order him to be deprived of all his powers. I have two instances in which this has happened; one among the Berseba people, one among the Zwartboys far to the north. The !Gèi aop is taken to the nearest pool of water, and is ducked completely. His power oozes away from him into the water as it were, and he is as an ordinary man once more. As the !Gèi aop is rendered innocuous, so, too, is his medicine. I was told in Walvis Bay by a mother how her daughter had been !Gèied, and how she nearly died, but how at length she got the medicine which is all powerful against all !Gèi methods. This is the //A[illegible]ip, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating, that it is too much even for any !Gèi medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little !Gèi sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever.

Another instance of the same kind is that of certain medicinal roots. When any of the roots which are considered really powerful are dug from the ground, something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person, a present must also be given. When taking the root one addresses it thus: "A, //na ta gye nesi go khau, o ta gye huí te damats, gara i o, !kéi //gams !na ni áo ǂgâ tsi." (Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water.)

All the foregoing instances illustrate the protective power of water. Things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation, or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself.

Before turning to the other set of examples in which water is considered dangerous, I should like to mention one or two customs from the literature. I could not find any evidence that these customs are kept up now by the tribes I have come in contact with, but they fit in very well with what I have been saying.

Peter Kolben* tells us that the Hottentots before crossing a river go down to the edge, splash themselves with water, and smear their foreheads with sand or clay.

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* *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 2nd part, Vth Letter, p. 419.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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How the Hottentots honour the Moon. [*After* Kolb.

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tot dat de wint het vel van boven neder heeft gewait; en als dan menen zy ydelijk dat de kracht van de wint op dat vel is gestuit.

Het schijnt evenwel dat zy eenigh waengeloof aen d'opkomende nieuwe mane zouden hebben: want wanneer die begint gezien te worden, zullen zy gemeenlijk met hele troepen t'haerwaerts keren, en den gehelen nacht met groot gejuich, zoo met dansen, springen, zingen en kloppen in de handen, als prevelen binnen 's monts, overbrengen.

Zy hebben dan ook een pot, met een velleken stijf overtrokken, van fatsoen gelijk hier te lande de vastel-avont rommelpotten, daer geduurig met de eene hant op geslagen wort. Daer is by hen noch een ander speeltuig in gebruik, met een snaer, op de wijze van een boog, met een gespleten penneschaft aen het een einde, daer zy dan mede op blasen, en klank geeft zonder strijkstok, doch geen hart geluit, niet tegenstaende zy sterk genoech met hunnen adem uitblazen en weder van gelijken ophalen: desgelijx ziet man by wijle vrouwen en kinderen voor opgerechte stenen knielende neerbuigen. Dan hebbende gene kerken, nochte houden de minste vergaderingen.

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[88]) This custom is discussed more fully below, p. 138.

[89]) The musical bow to which Dapper refers is the famous *!gouru*, an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies* v, 89-100, illus. The "rommelpot" is the instrument known to the modern Korana.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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high in the breeze, until the skin is blown down from above; and then they foolishly believe that the force of the wind has been checked on this skin.

They also appear to have some superstition about the new moon; for when this is first seen, they all turn towards it in groups, and make merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, singing and clapping their hands, and also murmuring in their mouths[85]).

They also have a pot tightly covered with a small bit of skin, and similar in appearance to the *rommelpot* used here at home on Shrove Tuesday, on which they beat continuously with one hand. They also use another musical instrument with a string, after the manner of a bow, attached to a split peg at one end, on which they blow. It produces a sound without a fiddlestick, but not a loud one, although they puff out their breath and inhale again with some force[86]). So, too, one also at times sees women and children kneeling before erected stones, to which they bow[87]). They have no churches, nor any sort of congregation.

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as /khais, a drum used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs sung during certain dances. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 183-185.

87) This statement is probably derived from an observation made by Corporal Muller in 1655 when going on an expedition to False Bay. His party came to a certain great stone alongside the road, when the Hottentot women with them each gathered a green twig in her hand and all went to lie down on the stone, at the same time uttering some words which the Europeans could not understand. "Being asked what it meant, they said 'hette hie,' pointing upwards as if they intended to say it is a sacrifice." (D. Oct. 5, 1655.)

14:Hahn b-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

CHAPTER II.

The religious instinct should be honoured even in dark and confused mysteries.—SCHELLING.

SACRED FRAGMENTS AND RELICS.

IN this chapter I propose to give extracts from the accounts of former travellers as much as my own observations, reserving for my next chapter the inferences I have drawn from them.

Worship of Heitsi-eibib.

Corporal Müller, travelling with the Hottentot interpreter Harry along the False Bay, east of the Cape, in October, 1655, says:

"We were marching generally in a S.E. direction; after marching half an hour one morning we saw a strange proceeding of the Hottentot women on the side of our path, where a *great stone* lay. Each woman had a *green* branch in her hand, laid down upon her face on the stone, and spoke words, which we did not understand; on asking what it meant, they said, '*Hette hie*,' and pointed above, as if they would say, 'It is an offering to God.'"—("Sutherland Memoir respecting the Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjesmans," vol. ii. p. 88.)

As will be seen from the sequel of this chapter, the word "*Hette hie*" is only a distortion of "*Heitsi-eibib*," and the form of worship, described here at the cairn, is nothing else but the Heitsi-eibib worship, as it is practised still up to this day all over Great Namaqualand and in

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

|Koranaland, where Heitsi-eibib has changed names, and 788
the worship is offered to |Garubeb or Tsûi-||goab.

Worship of Tsûi-||goab (Dawn), ||Khob (Moon) and Heitsi-eibib (Dawn-tree).

Dapper, as early as 1671, speaking of the Khoikhoi 776
at the Cape of Good Hope, says: 821

"They know and believe that there is *One*, whom they call *humma* or *summa* (*i.e.*, in Nama or |Kora |*homi*, *heaven*), who sends rain on earth, who makes the winds blow, and who makes the heat and the cold. . . . .

"They also believe that they themselves can make rain, and can prevent the wind from blowing. . . . .

"It appears also that there is a certain superstition about the new moon. For if the moon is seen again (the new moon) they crowd together, making merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, and singing; clasping their hands together, and also murmuring some words (singing hymns). . . . .

"Nay, their women and children are seen to kneel before erected stones and bow before them."—(O. Dapper, "Umbständliche und Eigentliche Beschreibung von Africa." Amsterdam, 1671, pp. 626, 627.)

Heitsi-eibib, or Tsûi-||goab, Worship.

Nicolas Witsen, burgomaster of Amsterdam, commu- 776
nicates to his learned friend Jobst Ludolf, in Germany, the following interesting letter, dated Cape of Good Hope, February 19, 1691, forty years after the landing of Governor Jan van Riebeeke at the Cape:

"Nobilissimus vir miscebat sermonem cum aliquot Hottentottis, qui pro sua erga ipsum familiaritate docebant nihil dissimulando '*se adorare Deum certum aliquem*' cuius caput manus seu pugni magnitudinem haberet; grandi eundem esse et deducto in latitudinem corpore; auxilium vero eius implorari tempore famis et anonae carioris aut alterius cuiuscunque necessitatis. Uxores

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

children to the thinly disguised contempt of the foreigners 609
rendered fruitless all attempts to gain deeper insight into their religious ideas, partly through a natural shyness and fear of ridicule, but chiefly through a stubborn unwillingness, based on a fear of ill-treatment, which still characterize the Khoikhoi. These travellers utterly failed to get into the confidence of the natives. In justice to our travellers, however, I shall relate what they have recorded.

"By the side of the road," says Thunberg, who tra- 788
velled in the Eastern Province of our colony, "I observed a heap (stone heap) covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, in passing by, " threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there. (Thunberg, German edition, i. p. 84, Berlin, 1792.)
"Of a certain kind of greyish grasshopper (mantis fausta) 825
the people here believe that the Hottentots offer prayer to it."—(Thunberg, vol. i. p. 68.)

Sparrmann, again, is very doubtful whether the Hotten- 776
tots after all believe in a Supreme Being. He informs us that, according to the statement of the Khoikhoi themselves, they were too stupid to understand anything, they never heard of a Supreme Being. This, however, does not entitle our author to infer that the Khoikhoi had no God or religion. My experience would lead me to explain what Sparrmann relates. It is a striking feature in the nature of every savage, especially of a Khoikhoi, to pretend the greatest ignorance, though, for all that, one knows that he is very well informed on the subject. It is very trying and annoying indeed to a traveller.

But myths, tales, legends one seldom will get out of a native by questioning. He must be a very intelligent native, with an unprejudiced mind, who will answer at once questions of that kind to an inquisitive stranger, especially if he shows any hauteur.

Our author, however, did not believe in his own state-